

1027. 6.24
SEASONABLE ADVICE

1—11
T O T H E

E L E C T O R S

O F

MEMBERS of PARLEMENT

At the ensuing GENERAL ELECTION.

A D D R E S S E D

To the Free and Independent Electors of
the Kingdom of IRELAND in general,
to those of the City of DUBLIN in par-
ticular.

By CHARLES LUCAS.

*Stand fast in the Liberty wherewith thCHRIST hath made you
Free, and be not again intangled in the Yoke of Bondage.
ST. PAUL.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. DAVIES, in Ruffel-Street, Covent-
Garden; J. COOTE, in Pater-noster-Row; and
T. BECKET, in the Strand.

M D C C L X.

REASONABLE ADVICE

BOOKS

MEMBERSHIP



X

X

CHARLES LUCAS

To the FREE and INDEPENDENT
ELECTORS of the KINGDOM of
Ireland in general, to those of
the City of *Dublin* in particular;
FREEDOM, HEALTH and PEACE :

My most dear Countrymen, worthy Fellow-
Citizens, and loving Friends;

X
THOUGH long severed from you,
by hateful and lawless oppression,
I never was, nor ever can be, in-
attentive to your concerns. Silence would
but ill-become me on this important, this
critical conjuncture, big with events, which
must most nearly affect you; events which
must, sooner or later, be felt by all Europe;
I may say, by all the extremes of the globe.
Patiently hear me relate them. Call forth
all your fortitude: the first will tent you to
the soul: the good old king, that tender
and indulgent father of his people, over-
loaden with cares for the happiness and glory
B of

of his subjects, anxious to put a stop to human bloodshed, and to give contending nations an equal, just, and permanent peace ; his great heart, with incessant labor in the common cause, as it were, worn out, at length gave the sad proof of the mortality of the greatest of men.

I see my mourning friends paying the last tribute of loyal tears to the sacred remains of their deceased sovereign ; I feel their sense of gratitude for his long paternal care of his people ; their respect to his steady valor, unshaken justice, and unparalleled clemency, and gladly applaud their awful reverence of the manifold personal and private virtues, which constitute the royal character, and must render his memory dear to generations yet unborn.

But, my friends, when time and reflection mitigate your griefs, you will thank heaven for the time and manner, in which your great king was called to a more exalted station, to change an earthly, temporal, for a glorious, eternal crown. It pleased the ruler of princes to spare this, his chosen delegate, in health of body and vigor of mind, till the most distant, as well as the nearest tyrants of the earth felt the terror of the arms of Britain ; it pleased gracious heaven to spare his precious life, till contending factions at home were silenced, till great offenders
were

were exemplarily punished and abased, and till men of the first abilities and merit were appointed to the most honorable and important trusts; and above all, heaven was most merciful in sparing his life, till the royal heir arrived at full age, well instructed, and in all respects well qualified to take up the reins of government. These great points atchieved, without knowing a single infirmity of age, without any failure of his faculties, without a moment's pain, his great soul shook off it's mortal coil, and fled to the blissful mansions prepared for immortal heroes and for patriot kings.

These just obsequies to the manes of our departed king being payed, let us not sorrow like men without hope; let us turn our eyes from the gloomy to the cheerful scenes, by auspicious providence prepared for the sensible and loyal, for the legitimate sons of Great Britain and Ireland.

Now, my good friends, let me congratulate you on the second great event. Let your exulting hearts bless heaven for bringing on the day of our redemption; for, such this event must prove, if you remane as sensible and as worthy of the blessings of liberty, as you appeared when lawless force banished me from among you.

But, before I expatiate on the other great events, let me here expostulate a while, with

such as may incline to derogate from the glories of the late regne, by pointing out the numberless complaints of our country and our city, which, so far from redress, still appear aggravated and complicated. It is most true, that not only delays, but open denials of justice, have frequently been made in the courts of law, probably by command of the great ; imprisoning men out of caprice, and denying them the benefit of the writ of original right, the *Habeas Corpus*, at the discretion or arbitrary will of judges or their rulers ; open obstructions given the execution of laws, and decrees or orders contrary to all laws, enforced by one of the three, without the concurrence of the two other, estates of the realm, without which there can be no law ; condemning innocent and loyal subjects unheard, and dooming them to gaols or banishment, without any rule or authority, without any form of law ; and remitting such from a superior to an inferior court for further punishment, after passing a condemnation worse than death, in the former ; the obstruction of the complaints of loyal subjects oppressed, and even punishing them for complaining ; the open sale of employments, ecclesiastical, civil and military, as well as of honors ; and that to the most worthless and infamous purchasers ; and the multiplying of places and pensions for strangers

gers abroad ; or, what is still worse, as the wages of perfidy and corruption for impious parricides at home ; these are abuses peculiar to our times, though shocking to every sensible, honest man. It is also true, that the general conduct of the king's lieutenants, from him who avowedly robbed the treasury, leaving in it as he jocosely, though wickedly declared, but *one crooked sixpence*, down to him who swept it clean and involved You in an extravagant national debt, has been odious to every thinking man ; yet so far have all been from any degree of punishment or complaint of their administration, that the worst of them returned with high rewards, and still higher adulation, from your parlements to the royal presence, even while the addresses of the people were not permitted to come to the royal ear. It is no less true, that claims have been laid, in the name of the crown, to unfortunate redundancies in the treasury ; and the commons, for reasons best known to themselves, sometime granted and ratified the demand, at the expence of equity, law, and truth, and of the inverting or overturning the essential forms of parliamentary proceedings. At another time, the ruling faction in the commons have found it convenient and necessary for their private purposes, to resume their abandoned right, regardless of the precedent

cedent in a preceding parlement, yet without being masters of the arguments to support their rights or those of the ill-represented nation ; and when they have refused to give up these as before, the ministers of the crown have presumed to lay their sacrilegious paws upon the undetermined fund, have taken the whole money, the bone of contention, out of the treasury, and disposed of it by the sole authority of the prerogative !

——When addresses or complaints to the throne have been by accident carried against the sense of the ministry, a Lord Lieutenant has been found, who dared to dispute the authority of the representative of the nation, and obstruct the necessary, free and frequent intercourse that our government requires to subsist between the king and parlement. Yet what punishment was inflicted for so daring an offence ? What motion was made against the offender ?—None ; not even a motion was heard, upon the unparalleled occasion, but such as lukewarm senators or hungry judges put, when cold or a keen appetite engages their attention, the cool motion of adjournment ! And instead of any loud consequent complaint, the shocking offence has been known afterwards privately, effectually, compromised by the acting junto, without permitting a note upon the most extraordinary proceeding to be entered in the journals of the house !

house ! These, with the overturning the constitution of the capital city, though of matchless, unshaken fidelity and loyalty, are but a small part, the heads of the accumulated complaints of poor Ireland ! These, could they be occasioned by any king, must undoubtedly have made him the object of the utmost contempt and indignation, instead of the love and reverence of a free people.

But, a little cool reflection must serve to convince you, that the king, so far from authorising or even countenancing such enormous oppressions and grievances as these, was artfully kept an utter stranger to them all, and was even made happy, with repeated assurances of the flourishing state of his loyal kingdom of Ireland. Thus, you find all the addresses of each house of parliament, during this late regne, exulting in the great happiness and most prosperous state of the kingdom. You find the royal clemency greatly admired and applauded for sending you the worst creature of the British ministry, much such a wretch as God gave in his wrath, by way of a king, to curse the most slavish and corrupt people ; or such a log as angry Jupiter sent to rule the frogs. And, at the close of a session, You have never failed of finding the most fulsome, the most extravagant adulation lavished upon the wisdom, virtues and patriot administration of one, who

who acted more like an Oriental Nabob, or a Turkish Captain Basha, than the representative of the limited Sovereign of a free people. If your vice-kings dare to obstruct or prevent the presenting such parliamentary addresses as do not suit their purposes, to the throne; how is it to be imagined; that the private complaints of the multitude, or the enslaved and beggarly condition of the whole country, can ever come to the ears of majesty? You must then be assured, that none of those impositions and abuses, however enormous; however grievous and destructive, could possibly have been known; much less authorised or countenanced by the king. There could be no regular access to his ear, in a national cause, but from the parlement, your representative, through the lieutenant, his majesty's representative. If then, neither the king or you can be found to have had a representative, how could your case be made known? When you consider these maturely, you will join with me in pitying him, who with the unthinking or disaffected, is likely to bear the whole blame; and you will of course, in common justice; with me, turn your eyes and resentment on those, who appear to be the real authors of all your miseries. You will use your utmost means to bring the perpetrators of these foul and destructive deeds to condign punishment

ment and infamy, and so redress your manifold and intolerable grievances, rescue the fame of your departed Sovereign from the glanced obloquy, and redeem the honor, and restore the liberty and rights of a long oppressed and plundered, loyal people. These good things; you may now well and easily achieve; for, if it be not your own fault, the day of your deliverance is at hand.

But, before I quit this subject, I would have you all rightly conceive my sentiments on these matters, by which I hope we shall be found to agree. I have been pretty explicit upon the subject, in the dedication * of a tract of mine to the Prince, who now does honor to the throne; and there you may find an epitome of my political creed; as well as the following words, which you will permit me here to repete.—*I should think myself unworthy of enjoying these unparalleled benefits, could any means be able to efface the grateful sense of them, imprinted on my heart. —The justest of our politicians judge, that Protection and Allegiance are obligations mutual and reciprocal, between the Governor and the Governed; and that when the one is withdrawn, the other ceases to be a debt. — Yet pardon mine ambition to let your Royal Highness see my sentiments of loyalty and gra-*

* ESSAY ON WATERS.

titude upon this occasion: Though I am, I hope, the only subject living, that can of a truth complain of having been denied the Protection, that even criminals enjoy under our laws, having notoriously suffered the oppressor's wrongs, the law's delay, and the insolence of office, to say no more, and that without any taste, or even prospect of redress; notwithstanding, I can call upon my bitterest enemies to attest, that it has not been in the power of persecution and adversity to pervert my senses, so far as to make me impute the unauthorised outrages of substitutes to the Principal, or make me one moment disregard or forget the Deliverers of my country, the Restorers and Preservers of our most valuable, our political health.——In this light, has the state of the administration struck me. And though my conduct has made every secret and avowed enemy of the government mine, without finding a single advocate among its friends in power; yet I do, and must persevere in the same sentiments, from a persuasion of the justice and equity of the proceeding, not from either hopes or fears, having nothing to ask, nor any thing to fear, while I can insure myself the calm sunshine of a self-approving conscience: a tribunal which no power can shake.

These points being premised and stated, let us now, my friends, change our doleful dirges

dirges into the most heart-gladdening lays. Take your long-unstrung *harp from off the weeping willows upon the banks of the waters of Babylon*. Tune her to the most exquisite harmony, and let all free and loyal souls, oppressed, rejoice! for, the day of your deliverance is at hand. Bless God! and embrace it.

Heaven be praised! We have lived to see a prince ascend the thrones of these realms, adorned with every personal, with every mental endowment, with wisdom beyond his years, and every virtue that can bespeak affection and respect, give lustre to his crowns, glory to his regne, or freedom and happiness to his people! A king, born and bred a BRITON! who, though descended of the good old stock, whose blood is derived, through the purest channels, from the most antient and illustrious race of Sovereigns in Europe; in the moment that he ascends the throne, deigns to claim our *regard*, more by the endearing relation of *countrymen*, than to challenge our due *allegiance as subjects*! Who calls *this, his native country*! And while he is, with boundless, universal joy, proclaimed and confessed Sovereign, vouchsafes to inroll himself a *Native*, a Son of *Britain*, yea, to glory in the name of BRITON! O! happy Isle! at once the mother and subject of a GREAT, a PATRIOT KING!—This is he, whom I elsewhere

where * pronounced, *born to disarm and to dissolve contending factions, to recover the lost sheep of our fold; to call the prodigal children home, and to unite them in one family, infolded within the arms of a tender and indulgent parent, whom distant ages shall hail, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.*—I have the royal word, solemnly given, to prove me a prophet, in this instance. They who know his Majesty's private and his princely virtues, want not this assurance of his great and good intentions towards his people. Such as have not that happiness must trust to his royal declaration, and his most gracious speech in parlement, from which all comforts, all hopes are to be drawn. For the information and satisfaction of my fellow-subjects of Ireland in general, for those of my worthy fellow-citizens in particular, I shall beg leave to transcribe the former royal words.

HIS MAJESTY'S DECLARATION in
Council, dated Oct. 25, 1760.

“ The loss that I and the nation have sustained by the death of the king my grandfather, would have been severely felt at any time; but coming at so critical a juncture, and so unexpected, it is by many circumstances augmented, and the weight now fal-

* Same Dedication.

ling on me much increased. I feel my own insufficiency to support it as I wish. But animated with the tenderest concern for this my native country, and depending upon the advice, experience and abilities of your lordships, upon the support and assistance of every honest man, I enter with cheerfulness into this arduous situation, and shall make it the business of my life to promote the glory and happiness of these kingdoms, to preserve and strengthen the national constitution, both in church and state. And as I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in the manner most likely to bring on an honorable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies."

Was ever royal declaration so dutiful ! so gracious ! so modest ! so condescending ! so pathetic ! so patriot ! so comforting ! The glad subjects now see their *countryman*, their *king*, for the first time such a blessing has been enjoyed, in the memory of any, now living, in Britain. After paying the due regards to his deceased grandfather and predecessor, he declares his being *animated with the tenderest affection* for this his native country. Then, *relies upon the advice, experience, and abilities of his COUNCIL*, and calls for the support and assistance of every HONEST MAN,

MAN, to enable him to discharge his peculiar care, to complete the *great business of his life, the promoting the glory and happiness of these kingdoms*, by preserving and strengthening the political constitution.

Here, my drooping countrymen and friends, here are sure grounds of comfort and of hope, for all the subjects, for you especially, who want them most ! here is the GOLDEN BULL, that secures you, Freedom and general happiness, and your Sovereign, a glorious regne !—Your religion, your liberties, all your concerns, now fall under the royal attention and care ! let this royal declaration be engraved on the tables of your hearts. Inscribe the sacred words in letters of gold under the pretious pourtrait or print of your gracious sovereign, and teach your lisping babes to read by it. And, for further assurance of the moral, religious, pious intentions of his Majesty, subjoin his royal proclamation against immorality, irreligion and profaneness, and add his most gracious speech from the throne. Are not these such samples of an auspicious, patriot, pious regne, as rouse, revive, and call into action, every moral, every political virtue in every breast among us ? You now can never fear finding a known immoral or profane man, about the sacred person of your prince. And when the evil counsellor is kept at distance, as well as *removed, from the king, his throne shall*

shall assuredly *be established*, as his regne has begun, *in righteousness*. Every *honest man* is now called upon to give *his support and assistance* to facilitate the happy discharge of the regal office. And what *honest man*, with the smallest portion of sense, can deny his utmost aid in carrying on the glorious work, in sharing in, and dispensing to others, the inestimable blessings of A WISE AND VIRTUOUS ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNMENT?—Whose heart retains a spark of generous liberty, and does not exult and bound within his breast, at this godlike call? who does not pant with eager zeal to answer the godlike intentions of the king, in restoring and confirming the civil and religious liberties of his people!

I hope we are all preparing, in our respective vocations and stations, to answer, to perform our parts, with becoming integrity, zeal and fortitude. Armed and furnished with these, my friends, we have all a right, it is our bounden duty, to advance, in our respective spheres. It were desertion, cowardice, perfidy, and treason, to decline the charge.—It is true, my friends and brethren, we are not all born or bred, counsellors of state, politicians, heroes or soldiers. But there are, thank God! among us, many sensible, honest, loyal and brave men, of different vocations, in various stations. And there is hardly any so mean,

mean, so low, that has a moderate share of sense and honesty, who may not, in his sphere, in some measure, conduce to the forwarding and facilitating the great and arduous work of government, and so answer the glorious invitation of his Sovereign; which is addressed to EVERY HONEST MAN.

You, my most dear and worthy countrymen and friends, who have long labored under the heavy weight of lawless oppression, without redress or comfort; you, who are so far removed from the reviving presence of your Sovereign; you are in a most especial manner called on, upon this great occasion. Your gracious king addresses you. Be not like the deaf adder, whose dull *ears are shut against the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely.* Or like those, who have long *set in darkness, and in the shadow of death; yet choose darkness rather than light, conscious of their deeds being evil.* Honesty is the cardinal qualification required, the virtue relied upon. Indeed it implies every other: for, an honest man, in the extensive acceptation of honesty, must have all the social virtues. He, knowing his duty, and his relation to all parts of the community, must discharge all the offices of life properly and justly. His first duty is to his country and to his king, which with us, hold inseparably one and the same interest. The
honest

honest man can never, consistent with his character, desert or decline the public service, in any instance, in any degree : his fortune and his life are ever ready to be sacrificed, when the common good requires it. From the same principles, the honest man acquits himself, uniformly and steadily, in all the offices of society. No wonder then, our wise and gracious king calls on such and such onely, knowing that such must ever prove the onely good members, the only sure safeguard of the state. Hear then, my honest friends, hear the charming voice of your king. He calls forth all your manly virtues into action ; bids, rather invites you, to exert them in the common cause, in your own service, for self-preservation : for, a king capable of making this declaration from his heart, can have no view, no interest different from, much less opposite to, that of his honest subjects. He can enjoy no political happiness, in which you have not the greatest share. He knows, he is heaven's viceroy, appointed not for his own sole emolument, but for the common good of all his people. He can desire no better a foundation for his thrones, than the pure affections of sensible and honest, which must ever prove loyal subjects, and founds the hopes of a prosperous and glorious regne, upon the freedom and happiness, upon the glory

D

of

of the people committed to his royal care. Were ever subjects known so great, so happy? was integrity or probity ever known to have secured so ample a temporal reward, as when freedom, happiness and glory, assuredly attend her train?

Your sister Britain, who *actually* enjoys the blessing of a regne, which can onely be virtually extended to you, has manifold causes to exult in such a Prince's accession to the thrones. Yet, I must say, though it may seem a paradox at first, that Ireland has infinitely more: In Britain, it is to be presumed, that all parts of the government, in the late preceding regne, have been fairly and regularly administred. Here, are no complainings, no murmurings in the streets. Not onely bodies politic, but the meanest individuals are supposed to have equally and uniformly felt the salutary effects of a free dispensation of laws and justice with mercy, universally; while the sources of laws and mercy have been kept clear and unpolluted, in parlements, legally, freely, frequently convoked, impowered to act for a stated time onely, and actuated by the spirit and principles of the national constitution. These are blessings which have flowed from living, in some measure, within the reach of the royal eye. Blessings to which, you have been strangers.

You

You then, on whom the sunshine of majesty has not for centuries fallen, unless by dull reflexion from some substitute; You, whose true state and condition has never been fully made known to your Sovereign; You, whose laws are spurned at, executed or trampled under foot, as suits the expediency of perfidious rulers and ministers; You, whose cities are dismantled or overturned, whose boroughs are depopulated, whose country is laid waste, and whose countrymen are daily set a-begging, at the nod of lawless power; You, whose judges are creatures, whose places are dependent on the breath of some creating minister; you, whose creatures and servants have long looked upon themselves as your masters; whose parlement has set up for nothing less than perpetuity and omnipotence, without any authority or countenance of law or common sense; while the different estates, instead of acting in conjunction, as one body, for the joint good of the whole, have often assumed separate powers, judicative, legislative, and executive, without known bounds or reason; You, who have seen such a long-lived, stupendous monster often drain the vitals of the body politic, to support some lieutenant of the crown, or creature of the ministry here in that character, and his or their hungry minions and

satelites, in luxury and extravagance, and in return, making many false representations of the state of the nation, and permitting no just remonstrance to be laid before the throne; You, on whom the dregs of all evil governments have fallen, without having been once able to make your hateful and intolerable grievances known to your king; You must revive at seeing the destructive *Hydra* slain by the YOUNG HERCULES: Your wounds and bruises may now be dressed and bound up, your inveterate putrifying sores may now be cleansed, all healed, and new spirits and vigor infused into the whole distempered, emaciated and almost exhausted body politic, and all its feeble and almost paralytic members, by only attending in your respective spheres, to the divine calls of OUR COMMON POLITICAL FATHER, the true physician of the state, who offers an universal remedy for all your foul and complicate diseases, if you have but political life and strength to bear its operation. He stretches out the health-dispensing hand, and offers you the vivifying spirit of the Britannic constitution. It is but drinking of it, as your forefathers did, and becoming HONEST, HEALTHFUL, VIGOROUS and FREE. You will pardon an unavoidable piece of pedantry.—And what return does your great benefactor expect at your hands, for this his invaluable

valuable gift? Your *support and assistance* under the weighty and arduous task of government, on which he depends to enable him to complete the great *business of his life*, to *promote the HAPPINESS and GLORY of his people*, to *preserve and strengthen the civil constitutions* of his kingdoms. O highly honorable and most noble call! O! glorious task! Heaven long preserve his invaluable life! as the spirit of the constitution! the pride of the people! A reproach and scourge to domestic and foreign tyrants!

And now, you long-oppressed sons of liberty, now resume and exert the spirit of your ancestors. The day of your probation or deliverance is near at hand. Dispel the mists of ignorance and delusion; cast off the hoodwinks that have been thrown before your eyes, and gradually inure your organs, too long weakened by imposed darkness, inure them timely to the light, lest the sudden darting of its unaccustomed rays may shock the infeebled senses. The day is now near at hand, when, my dearest countrymen and friends are to stand the great, the critical test. Your inviting King, and all the world will soon see, whether you dare be honest, happy, and free, or be grown perversely or habitually corrupt, and prefer wretchedness, slavery and contempt, to the sweets of virtue, to happiness, to glorious liberty. It
will

will soon appear, whether the atrocious outrages committed on the whole body politic, in which the sacred political person of the Sovereign suffered, as well as some innocent and worthy individual members, in former regnes, by lawless governors, corrupt counsellors, ignorant and servile judges, usurping magistrates, and packed perpetual parlements, be by you sensibly felt, spiritedly, loyally, honestly, resented, now that the bonds of your enslavers and their tyrannic powers are to be speedily dissolved. The time is almost come, when you are either to manifest your sense, integrity and spirit, and answer the calls of your Sovereign, by remonstrating against the present or past and obviating future enormous impositions and abuses, derogatory to the power, honor and dignity of the crown, as well as infamously injurious to your whole country; or whether you purpose to lye down, like dogs, contented in hunger and ease, with licking your old wounds and sores, and playing in your lothsome kennels, with chains by time and confinement grown familiar and habitual. But this is by no means to be suspected.

If this were in any degree possible, I should spurn you like dead dogs from my heart, from my sight for ever. You could in no sort be intitled to any portion of any good man's care, much less could you come within the letter
of

of our patriot king's gracious declaration. His majesty wisely addresses himself to the *noblest work of God, the Honest man*. I humbly follow the royal example. I know multitudes of you, that dare be honest, and pant to be free. And I doubt not the majority of you will be universally found such in the day of your probation. It is from this assurance, and the calls of my king, that I am roused from the political lethargy, which seized me at seeing no prospect of redress of our national grievances. The prospect now happily opening to our eyes, will, I hope, cure you as well as me. Remember then, my worthy friends, what I have so long laboured to inculcate, that every member of our community is by law, as well as by nature, free. The subjects of our crown enjoy freedom, by the onely indubitable, indefeasable, hereditary right, acknowledged among us. No man has a right by law to divest himself of the liberty inherent to him as a member of the state. Liberty is the political life of every subject. None can give it up, without perfidy, treachery and perjury, but in such portion and manner as he forfeits it by the laws. So sacred is the liberty of every individual, that there exists no power, that can wrest it from the meanest of the subjects. No man can be deprived, by force, of his liberty more than of his life,

life, without wounding the body politic of which he is a member. Therefore no man of sense, honesty, spirit or loyalty, can consistently suffer his freedom or rights to be invaded in a single point, by any power whatever. Our king is injured when any of his subjects are abused. His power is only bounded in doing evil: He can do no wrong. Whereas, in doing good, his power knows no bounds. Among the regal attributes that give him the just pre-eminence of all other potentates upon the earth, are these; that while vaunting monarchs rule herds of slaves, shackled by tyrannic force; our sovereign governs a wise and free people by laws of their own framing, which are at once the measure and the bond of allegiance and protection, the best strength and security of the prerogatives of the crown, and of the rights and liberties of the subject. You, whose best and indefeasible birthright is liberty, can not be *slaves* and *honest men*. Religion admits as well of suicide, as law of self-enslaving. Moreover, our king's honor and dignity can suffer nothing more, than in ruling slaves. Our present gracious king *calls for and relies upon the support and assistance of honest men*, which *slaves* can never give. These considerations will undoubtedly rouse, my worthy fellow-subjects, and fellow-citizens from supineness and indolence, and make them

them use every honest, every lawful means, to recover their invaluable liberty, in whatsoever instance it shall be found incroached upon; it will engage him to hand the national constitution *preserved and strengthened*, down, as it is his indispensable duty, to latest posterity.

I see the effects these few inconnected arguments have upon you; I feel the impression, our King's godlike call, and the assurance of his great and patriot intentions have had upon you, my worthy countrymen, fellow-citizens and friends. I gladly perceive the generous ardor, that warms each loyal breast, and makes his depressed heart pant for the invivifying sources of liberty. I observe you spurn at the shameful yoke, which has so long galled your honest necks. And it is evident, to your immortal honor, that you wish for nothing more than the means of breaking the enslavers *bonds, and casting off their cords from you*. And now, each free soul vies with the other, contending who shall be foremost in distinguishing his zeal in the cause of his country, which is now his Sovereign's cause; the generous contest is onely, who shall give the patriot king the *first and greatest support and assistance*, who shall most effectually coincide with the royal views, in reforming a lapsed or backsliding government, in restoring, in

E

pre-

preserving and strengthening the national constitution, both in church and state. You see the glorious opportunity, and you wait impatiently to snatch up the means. These also are now happily presented to your hands. Think how just, how great must be your condemnation, should any consideration deter you from laying hold on the offered occasion of regaining the freedom and rights of your kingdom, of your cities and boroughs; and should you, by any means, be brought to fail, in this the great day of your deliverance, in answering the glorious calls of your king and country. If you fail now, you may possibly bid farewell for ever to all the proferred blessings.

You must all, my friends, be sensible, that all the grievances under which you have long groaned, have arisen from the ignorance, supineness, cowardice, or corruption of too long-lived parlements: These have ever run in with, and given sanction to, the worst measures of the worst rulers that have at any time been sent to scourge and to plunder the kingdom. It must ever have been the interest and care of such, to cut off all intercourse between the king and his oppressed people; and consequently, as the parliament fixed its own duration upon the standard of the king's life, the length of the king's life, which the other kingdom looked for as

a blessing, to you must have proved the most dreadful evil; as it always prolonged the duration, extended the powers, and served to encourage the corruption of a democracy, the worst of all tyrannies when corrupt, beyond all tolerable bounds. Thank providence! we never had so good a prospect of a long, indeed of a glorious regne, as now. Shall Ireland be the onely part of the dominions of our crowns, that shall not have cause to pray for a long and prosperous regne to the king? If you have but the sense and virtue to choose just representatives, wise and honest counsilors to the crown, and faithful guardians to your country, you will be alike interested with the rest of the subjects, in the king's long life. But, at this distance, what can all his royal virtues, all his public spirit and patriot intentions avail, if you be not honest enough to appoint worthy representatives?—If for want of these, you have suffered so long and so much, in the last long-lived parlement, though under a most just and gracious king; you can blame none but yourselves, if the like evils should happen under this regne. And, you must reasonably expect, that Britain will have the prudence, for self-preservation, to stretch out her arms, to ward off the infecting pestilence; or you may yourselves be necessitated to beg for that most violent and desperate remedy,

medy, which you now so justly dread, an Union. Fools are not to be trusted with fire-brands among combustibles. And infants and lunatics are not to be trusted with the care and management of their own estates, when they may waste and abuse them to the prejudice of their posterity, as well as to that of their neighbours. A word to the wise. Be wise, my friends, before it be too late; be honest, happy and free!

The great and long-wished for occasion of our redemption being so near at hand, every individual, should prepare and set every engine to work, that may possibly contribute to the desired end. You must know that it can never be possible for every individual to gain personal access to the king. But, that none individual should possibly suffer by this, our wise ancestors provided, that each of the small divisions of the societies which compose our commonwealth, should be enabled to send chosen delegates, representatives, to serve for them in the assembly of the states of the nation. These, we have, in the excellencies of all the best known forms of human governments, monarchy, without tyranny, aristocracy, without oligarchy, and democracy, without anarchy, in our king, lords and commons, which constitute our great and glorious commonwealth; a constitution, in which the respective powers, prerogatives, and privileges

vileges of the head and members are ascertained and blended, in such just, such equal, such attemperating proportions, as balance, strengthen and secure the whole, and leave none of the constituent parts, not even the inferior limbs of our body politic, room to repine at his lot; since the meanest is as secure, as free, in his low, as the greatest, in his exalted, sphere; and the last, as well as the first, gives his consent, in his proper person, or by his representative, to the system of laws, by which he is, at once, governed and protected*.

Thus then, my friends and brethren, thus you have all a right to gain access to the throne, and *to council, to support, and to assist* your king. See the honor, see the trust, see the importance of the most obscure or inferior stations! See what glory and happiness must attend the wise and just discharge of the duties of your spheres! See what infamy, what wretchedness and reproach attend the ignorance, neglect or abuse of your great duty, and the weighty trust reposed in you, which is not onely for the present, but for future ages! Think of these things, and see if you can intrust a fool or a

* See my dedications of the great charter of Dublin to the King, and of mine Essay on Waters, to the Prince; and my *Political Constitutions of Great Britain and Ireland*.

knave with matters of the greatest importance, without risking every loss, and falling under the imputations yourselves of being no wiser or honeſter than the representative you have appointed by a public choice. Cunning knaves may ſend a thief to catch a thief. But he muſt be a fool indeed, that ſends a fool of his errand. This, I hope, can never be the caſe in Ireland.

With an exulting heart, I moſt ſincerely congratulate you, my dear countrymen and fellow-citizens, on the approaching diſſolution of a parlement, which can hardly be ſayed to have answered any of the ends of its inſtitution, much leſs to have *supported and aſſiſted* their ſovereign in his patriot intentions of *promoting the glory and happineſs* of his people. That this has not been done, you all have reaſon to lament, as well as I, but moſt eſpecially you, my honored and beloved fellow citizens, who have been ſtripped of your eſtates and franchiſes, and denied the exerciſe of the common functions of free men, particularly in the important points of electing your magiſtrates, as well as members to repreſent you in the common council both of the city and nation. Witneſs the unheard of obſtructions given to you in the laſt general election for your city, the preventing your electing the citizen you pitched upon, the turning out one whom you had
moſt

most fairly, regularly and indisputably elected, and the imposing one upon you, whom you neither did, nor upon your principles, possibly could at any time, elect. What king could obviate or remedy this shocking abuse? Who then is to be supposed justly to bear the blame? The electors or the elected, or both.

I have, in the *political constitutions of Great Britain and Ireland asserted and vindicated*, in the *apology for the civil rights and liberties of the commons and citizens*, in the *complaints of Dublin*, delivered to, and suppressed by, one of the chief governors, and in my *Dedication* of the transcript and translation of your Great Charter to the late king, fairly and succinctly layed down the legal constitutions of these realms, together with that of your city; and have layed down and demonstrated, beyond all room for contradiction, the fatal incroachments and infringements made in the national constitution of Ireland, as well as in that of her capital, down to the time, in which I was forced into exile. So far from any attempt to deny the charges, the aggressors themselves have upon many occasions been forced to confess them. How far these shocking breaches have been enlarged, and with what aggravation since my banishment, must be obvious to every thinking man. Has there been any
over-

overture, any attempt to redress the general grievances? No; not one, that I can learn, except a pitiful palliative for some abominable oppressions in the city, agreed upon to silence the clamor of the abused citizens, and to secure a share of popular favor to those who got the paltry bill passed, throwing out one that was more rationally framed, and that upon a shameful compromise. It is then, evident to demonstration, that all the evils, of which the nation or the city complain, were brought on and confirmed by a combination of avaricious, wicked rulers with spurious representatives, immersed in ignorance, supineness or corruption; appointed by ignorant, seduced, corrupted or enslaved constituents, or cruelly imposed upon the honest and free electors, by false commons, impudently arrogating to themselves the pernicious power of appointing members, or licensing elections, for all parts of the kingdom, as the seats happened to become vacant.— Under these sad circumstances, what part of the kingdom could say, it was fairly or legally represented in parlement? Poor Dublin, in particular, what representatives have you had? O! name them not!—Where then could the most gracious king look for all that ours now asks, *the support and assistance of honest men, in promoting the glory and happiness of these confederate kingdoms?* How

How could he obviate, how redress your grievances?—How was it possible to preserve and strengthen the civil constitution? You could not all have given him your personal assistance; you could have given your council and your aids by your delegates alone. How far then were our members or those imposed upon us for such, qualified, in any sense, to answer the king's most gracious demands and patriot views? or to represent a sensible, honest, loyal and free people? When did these representatives lay a true state of the nation before the throne? When complain of the evil conduct of judges and governors? Or were the worst of these, in our days, distinguished by the commons, but by excess of adulation? It could not be otherwise. A confederacy is soon formed by men of corresponding sentiments and views. Few have been solicitous for the regency of Ireland, but for selfish views. Few have solicited or obtained seats in the Irish parlement, upon better principles or with less interested views. To fulfil the intentions of such governors and such commons, a co-operation was necessary, and this was never known to fail, while each had a satisfactory share of the booty of the plundered. The pliant commons were tenderly and respectfully speeched by the ravenous governor, and while those were gratified

F

with

with places, pluralities and pensions, or with honors dearly, hardly bought, at the expence of sense and virtue, as well as of cash; the governor was always represented to the king with the wisdom of Solomon and the integrity of Cato, and the kingdom flourishing, great, happy and free. And thus these confederate potentates reciprocally tickled and flattered each other, while the people were ever undone by the confederacy. What king, that was not more than a mortal, could possibly prevent, know or foresee these evils? Or remedy the unknown grievances, when most heavily inflicted on the people?

If then all your unspeakable, complicated grievances, your wounds and bruises, your stripes and bonds, your oppression, beggary and disgrace, be, as must be confessed, thus apparently inflicted by evil governors, corrupt counsilors, and spurious perrennial parlements; the king can never see, or be any ways made fully acquainted with the calamitous circumstances of his people, and consequently, cannot interpose to save you from utter destruction. And thus, you at once see, that no King can be blamed for your passed or future sufferings, till you shall have recourse to the onely possible means of redressing your wrongs and vindicating your honor, the appointing fit representatives, which, to be legitimate, must be wise and virtuous,
honest

honest and free. Such and such onely can fulfil the just purposes and expectations of the people, and the patriot intentions of his majesty, by yielding that *support and assistance*, which *honest men* alone give, and which is so essentially necessary to enable the sovereign *to promote the glory and happiness of his people*. These good ends can only be accomplished by frequent and free elections of a just national representative, which will ever keep up a constant and regular intercourse with the crown, ever acquainting the sovereign with the genuine sense of the people, and whatever passes in the kingdom. And thus represented and governed, you would never be permitted to feel your distance from the throne.

Now, my worthy friends, let the ax be layed to the root of the tree, and let every rotten or stunted tree, or such as is found incapable of bearing its due proportion of wholesome fruit, be cut off and rejected. As the tree is known by its fruit, so with the constituents, by their representatives. Such electors as are duly qualified to answer the patriot king's call, such as are wise and virtuous, honest and free, must inevitably choose and delegate members, worthy of themselves; true representatives; men that bear the testimony of their legitimate mission about them; they must be *sensible, disinterested, honest and free*; such as are capa-

ble and determined to assert your rights and vindicate your wrongs, against the highest powers, as well in the senate, as the field; such as have heads so clear, and hearts so upright, so firm, that the king may see your sense, honesty and loyalty in them, and with safety rely on you in them, for *support and assistance* in his great, patriot intentions of promoting the happiness and glory of his people, by *preserving and strengthening* the national constitution.

On the other hand, those who have not the sense, integrity or fortitude necessary to make the just and necessary choice, will suffer senseless dolts, or artful and designing knaves to be imposed upon them, as mock-representatives, or will be base enough to sell their birthrights for a mess of pottage, to the first sordid purchaser that offers. These may clog, but never can promote the measures of any wise and righteous government, but lest of all, those of a patriot administration, as ours happily is, at this day. And those, if any there be, who are weak or wicked enough to attempt to mar the unparalleled freedom and happiness which await us in this auspicious regne, by returning any of the sons of pride or iniquity to the great council of the state, deserve punishment beyond any that our mild government can inflict upon the most atrocious offenders. Let bonds

bonds and infamy in a foregne state; be their portions on earth! But why should I mention such detestable characters, as I hope will be no more heard of in our isles? I gladly quit the painful view. And now,

Thank heaven! my friends, instead of any unsurmountable obstacles, we have every incentive, to a wise and free election of well qualified representatives, in this auspicious regne. You are not now called to return members to an house of commons, as insolent, as arbitrary in their proceedings, whose tyrannic rulers presume to dictate a *Congé d'elire*, peremptorily point out whom you shall, and whom you shall not choose, or haughtily impose such members as they list upon you. Praised be Providence! it now is yours to form a new, a constitutional house of commons, a true and respectable representative of the nation. Such must prove wise counsilors to the king, and faithful guardians of his free people. Such alone can regain your losted rights. Such alone can restrain or punish evil substitutes of the king, should any such be hereafter appointed. Such alone can coincide with the patriot intentions of the king. On such alone, he can safely rely for *support and assistance* in his government. Such must ever keep up a constant, free and regular intercourse with the Sovereign, without letting
you

you ever feel your real distance from the throne. Such will ever give due encouragement and protection to arts, sciences, manufactures and commerce, and every laudable industry. Such will discountenance and suppress public, as well as private, luxury and prodigality. And, if by any unforeseen accident, an unworthy substitute should hereafter happen to be sent to hold the reins of government amongst you; such a representative would be able to shield you from the baneful effects of a corrupt administration; would supply an effectual preservative against the pestilential infection of his evil morals in private, or his evil politics in public, life. Such a substitute should not be able to rob the treasury, or to involve the nation in debts. He should not be able to shock public credit, or to suppress trade. And much less, should he dare to scourge you with scorpions, or to rule you with a rod of iron. Nor should he be able to misrepresent you to the crown, or to intercept or prevent your complaints being layed before the throne. Upon the first overture of such attempts, the just representative, ever supported by their free and loyal constituents, would readily stop the most rapid career of the most powerful and iniquitous ruler. They would gag or muzzle, draw the teeth, or muffle the plundering paws of such

such a beast of prey, and for further punishment, would remit him to his offended and abused principal, with the full proofs of his crimes against the Sovereign and his people ; or, by their own authority, a brave representative would bring such an audacious delinquent to his trial and just condemnation in the proper courts. It is to be hoped, that you were never cursed with such rulers. And I dare affirm, you will never see such, till you appear corrupt and inflaved enough to deserve no better, by delegating your powers and privileges in parlement to the sons of pride, folly or corruption. Should that ever be the case, the worst treatment due to rebels and traitors, would be too good for you. But, thank God ! these can never be.

Now then, my worthy brethren and friends, now, that all obstacles to the regaining, preserving, strengthening and perpetuating your freedom and rights are removed ; now, that nothing is wanting but the proper exertion of sensible heads and honest hearts, to fulfil our good king's great intentions of *promoting and establishing the freedom, the happiness, the glory* of his subjects, universally, and without distinction ; can any man withhold the support and assistance required, consistent with the love and duty he owes his country, himself or posterity,

rity, with the regard due to the most gracious of sovereigns, who, with the stretched-out arms of a most tender and indulgent parent, relying on your integrity, invites you not only to contribute your aid, but to a share in the government! to happiness! to glory! to liberty! ---- After this, who can shew himself such a stupid slave, or abandoned profligate, as not to exert his utmost might in securing these invaluable blessings, by returning wise and virtuous representatives, on which the very essence of our most excellent government depends? Let not such a worthless wretch live among honest free men!

I am persuaded, that my worthy countrymen and fellow-citizens will duly prize, and not let slip, this invaluable opportunity of discharging, with becoming zeal, freedom and fortitude, the most important of all the trusts reposed in men. Who lives, that can say, he may ever see such another opportunity? Who can have a right to hope for another, or can deserve such another gracious offer, that does not gladly accept of these, and improve them to the utmost advantages, intended or wished? If evil rulers and counsilors should again conspire with false, perpetual representatives, and both should again interpose between you and your Sovereign, and again cut off the necessary intercourse between a free people and the

the crown ; remember that the long life, the wisdom, and all the patriot virtues of your king, could avail you nothing ; another eclypse, such as you have lately got clear of, may exclude you all light, so long, so effectually, as to make posterity ignorant of their being intituled to the comforts of the lest gleam, or even to a single ray.

It is high time, my countrymen and friends should emerge from the shameful insignificant and wretched state, in which you have dragged on a lingering life for years passed. It is time to hear the calls of virtue, of liberty, of your country. These your gracious king loudly makes. Will you not hear him ? Will you not fly to answer him ?— I know you will. Let then, every virtuous man bless his God, thank his king, and joyously accept the happiness and glory profered to him, to his country, to posterity. Let him prepare to furnish the grand council of the realm with those faithful representatives, on whose sense and honor, both king and constituent, may safely rely. To this end, let him freely examine the characters of candidates in general. And more especially, let him bring the conduct of late representatives to the strictest trial, by the exact balance of truth and reason. Let him learn and judge what they have done, or caused or suffered to be done, for, or against,

G the

the true and inseparable interest, honor and happiness of their king and country, in the late, long parlement. Inquire how they came by their seats in parlement, and why they presumed to hold them, against the spirit and the very essence of the civil constitution, for a term of years unknown in, and contrary to, law. If there be any that have gained free and honorable elections, and have discharged the delegated trust with proper zeal and integrity, and a true deference to their constituents, and no doubt, there are many; though they should be ignorant of the evil or unlawfulness of prolonging the parlement beyond just and legal bounds, the electors should be unanimous in re-electing them. But, every elector should set an indelible mark on those who are found to have purchased seats, for private convenience, and especially those, who by false petitions and sinister influence in the house, have got the lawful representative rejected, and the spurious imposed upon the abused constituents. Here is such an evil, such a complication of crimes, as singly taken, are each of the deepest dye that guilt can give. Whoever would trust such a man with the conduct of his part of the government, cannot be much wiser than he who would commit the care of his house and fortune to common thieves. Such men can never seek a seat in parlement with
any

any sort of honest views. The ordinary motives of such men are easily learned by their circumstances and conduct ; they procure seats by the most illicit measures, and at great expence, to get screened, by the shameful abuse of parliamentary privilege, from justice and law, to the ruin of honest, industrious creditors, or which is still worse, to barter their venal voices to the dishonor of parlement and the destruction of their representatives ; while they infamously extort the wages of their iniquity from the plunder of their unhappy ward, the people. Such falsehood, such perfidy, such hardy prostitution has sometime been known to have exhausted the public revenues and disgraced your state. You tremble and stand aghast at the bare recital ! — No wonder ; it shocks the ear. Who has dared to oppose these destructive measures ? Who dared to tell the important truth ? — I dare not conceal it. Look to it then, my friends ; see that you exclude such perfidious slaves the senate ; try for means to sever the corrupted limbs from the sound body, as you hope to escape the infection, and to live honest and free. This is the time to exert yourselves. You know your duty to your king and country, to yourselves and posterity. Take care you do not desert your posts, in the day of trial. And be assured,

that he is no better than a perjured traitor, who on this critical emergency, with-holds or declines giving the share of *assistance and support* he may afford to the redeeming and reforming the public administration.

Let me earnestly warn you, my honest friends, against electing the domestic officers or servants of any chief governor, or any of the numerous train of strange or native vassals, that live upon the garbage about a second-hand court. Think how many of those have, by some base means or other, got seats in your parlement, within these thirty-three years, who attended onely at their master's will and command, and were never seen in the house, when his regne ended and his purposes were served. Such can never be the legitimate representatives of an honest and free people. Nor was it ever intended they should. It is your faults if such ever find footing in your councils again.

You cannot, my worthy fellow-subjects, consistent with your characters and duties, choose representatives among the numberless placemen that disgrace and exhaust the state. Not one of these is eligible into a seat in parlement, whose employment is not of importance to the public, and whose conduct in this, as well as in the legislative capacity, if called to it, has not been found
 sensible,

sensible, upright and independent. It is your interest and duty to look upon all placemen in general, with a suspicious, with a jealous, distrustful eye. And you should strictly charge and require your representatives to bring in a bill to ascertain the qualifications, and to limit the number of placemen in parlement. In Britain, a member's accepting of a place, vacates his seat. This gives the constituents an opportunity of re-electing or rejecting him, according to his behaviour. Why may not Ireland have such a bill?

As for the whole impious band of pensioners, those drones who consume the fruits of the labors of the industrious, those parasites, who live by sucking out the vitals of a consumptive state, trust not one of them in parlement, and use all means to have them struck off the shameful and destructive list; unless where you find them superannuated, maimed or broken in the faithful service of their country, or by having otherwise well and loyally deserved such a reward at your hands. Where you find them worthy of such gratifications, it would be but unjust to deprive them. But, the very name of *pensioner* or *dependent* should totally disqualify any man for being the representative of an honest and free people. If you find your state burthened with a
 swarm

swarm of these locusts, it is a sure proof of a distempered commonwealth. These will generally be found the children of corruption, who thrive and multiply like flies and maggots, when there is the greatest plenty of carrion. In general, you must avoid choosing them your members, as you would shun a pestilence, and use your utmost influence to get all the undeserving, worthless pensioners cut off, for the honor and ease of the king and the subject.

Next to these, you will prudently cast your eyes upon the immense number of lucrative offices, many of which are as useless as burthensome to the subject, granted by patent, not onely for the life of the incumbent, but sometimes for a generation or two longer. Such grants as these must be presumed to have been surreptitiously obtained, when the commons were found void of sense and integrity, and suffered many things dishonorable and injurious to the crown and subject to be done, without having the virtue to give their faithful council to the king. If a king may grant one employment in reversion, why not all? If all be made over in reversionary grants, what is left to the disposal of the successor? May he not thus be deprived of the necessary and justly inherent power of appointing his own ministers, officers and servants? And can any of our
kings

kings deprive the successor of the disposal of the employments about his court, with greater reason and justice than he can alienate the royal patrimony? Could a true friend to the crown, or the successor, advise or accept such an alienation? Must not a wise and virtuous national representative consider all reversionary grants, especially in Ireland, in this light? And, if they find the crown or the kingdom burdened with such, upon duly weighing the characters of the grantees, and the means used to obtain such reversions, would it not be thought most reasonable and equitable to rescind all clandestine grants, and to restore them to the injured successor, by a general act of resumption? What heir would think himself bound by a lease or grant of an estate, made by his father, while, by unalterable settlements, he was made tenant for life?—But, be this as it may, beware of choosing representatives among this class of men. You must look upon their places in general as surreptitiously obtained from the crown by some artful designing minister, as a reward to some of his servile creatures. There is no general rule, without an exception. I hope, you will be able to prove this a general rule, by proving that some grantees are exceptions. But you can not properly elect these, more than any other placemen.

But,

But, be that as it may, if any be found among you, who, under a corrupt or tyrannical administration, obtained pensions, commissions or places, whether for life, or during the pleasure of the minister, and those as the wages of any known or secret, illicit service; the greatest lenity you can shew such shameless slaves, and the best proof you can give of your own public spirit and regard to justice and the calls of your sovereign, is to prevent such offenders being any where, so much as named candidates. The tainted breath of such parricides is enough to taint the air you breath, or to bring a curse upon a whole state. Remember, it is an insult to your sovereign, as well as an indelible disgrace, and may prove an irretrievable detriment, to yourselves and to your country, to return any for your members, who are not *honest, independent and free.*

I have now, my worthy friends, briefly enumerated certain classes of men, by the principles of our polity, and by common sense, absolutely disqualified for the offices of representatives in parliament. Let me now caution you further in your choice.

Be cautious of every man, who is very ambitious to obtain a seat in parliament, especially if he stoops to any degree of illicit or sinister means to obtain it. The views of such men must ever be suspected. The seat of
a mem-

a member can be no lucrative office to an honest man. And few, too few, will be found to seek the trouble from pure disinterested, from patriot views.

I hope, you are aware of the many little despicable artifices, practised by some shallow knaves to impose upon you, that you may put them into offices, where they may expose themselves. How many justices and jurors, how many chief and other magistrates of cities and boroughs have I seen, running into all the low extremes of follies and even petty oppressions, onely to gain the ill-founded fame of being active and diligent in the discharge of their offices? Thus the mayor, in whose time the largest loaf was sold, either from the plenty of corn, or at the expence of the poor, innocent, oppressed baker; or he who seized most bread and butchers meat, though with the least appearance of justice or law; and he who stopped or pulled down encroaching buildings, or most insolently terrified his innocent neighbours contrary to all rules and forms of law; never fails of demanding a triumph in any corporation, not even in Dublin. Almost every one of these annual Bashas is a great legislator and a persuasive orator, in his own imagination; while he hardly understands, and cannot for his soul deliver, common sense, in plane English! I have heard of a

H

judicial

judicial officer stoop to the most ministerial, mean, manual offices, and afterwards publish his hardy indecent deeds in print, to recommend him to some degree of the favor of a populace, by belying and abusing of which he was forced into one of their seats in parlement, and by thus publishing his shame, hoped to gain favor enough to keep his ill gotten place, by shewing he could be active, in spite to his paunch, though he could never arrive at any thing sensible or decent. Who hears this, that does not recollect the humorous fable of the ass and the spaniel? I have heard of some justices, who never did right, for fear of doing wrong. While others reverse the case, and are always doing wrong, fearing they should never happen to be able to do right. Who can choose such, that is not capable of sending a fool of his errand?

Lawyers in general, the council and recorders of cities in particular, think that, from their learning and abilities, they are well qualified, and by their public and private services, well intitled to gain the voices of sensible and honest freemen, upon an election. The present recorder of the city, from the great zeal of him and his family in establishing and protecting the usurpations of the aldermen, lately thought he had secured an interest sufficient to pack him into parle-

parlement. He knew, it was one of the necessary steps towards a lawyer's promotion. And, to prove his titule and his qualifications, he published Letters, which shew his rising parts, I dare say, in a very fair light. His great services in prevailing upon one city member, by way of compromise, to give up a sensible bill brought in for the regulation of the city, and to accept in its place, a lax and insignificant one of his drawing, he judges must secure an election to him and his master and pupil, the alderman. Persuaded of this, he need but set forth his clame by way of an appendix to a new edition of his letters. But, wise and honest men are not to be taken by such transparent baits as these. Are my countrymen and fellow-citizens persuaded of the transcendent merit of the learned gentlemen of the long robe? or are you sensibly indebted to those that are or have been in the house, for the virtuous discharge of the duties of statesmen or senators? If the eminent judges of the late queen were living, they could answer this question to your satisfaction. We can not say, there was *none honest, no not one* among them. One, indeed, and but one, was found. What the judges in earlier times were, you have seen set forth in the complaints of Dublin. But, if you still remane in doubt about the great qualifications and steady patriot virtues of the

H 2

lawyers,

lawyers, turn your eyes up to the wise and worthy sages, that now do honor to the benches in your courts, or to the learned and respectable gentlemen, in and out of the house, who with becoming humility, modesty, and equal integrity and patriotism, humbly aspire at these honorable places. I remember a venerable lawyer, who from a zealous patriot, became a courtier, when the most interesting question was depending in parlement, upon onely being told by a Lord Lieutenant, that a judge's robes would suit this barrister well, and that he was interested in knowing how baron Pocklington was, who perhaps was bid to sham sickness for the purpose. This ingenious, temporary patriot did not, it is true, receive the expected wages. Though you may think he got as much as he deserved, when derision and contempt drove him from the bar, with the nick-name of baron, which will stick to him to his grave.

Some, I hear there are, to whom parts seem to have been given as a curse to themselves and to their country, who lay clame to the applause and voices of a free people, for the diligent discharge of a great employment. If this place be attended with an adequate reward, the public debt is surely payed to this great officer. But, the keeping of his employment may perhaps depend
upon

pon his having a seat in parlement. Is it then incumbent on an honest, free people to choose him in order to secure his place? Inquire how this great man got his seat and his place, and see for what purposes he purchased the one, and on what considerations he first got a large pension, which he afterwards got converted into a lucrative employment. If you should find such a fellow prostituting himself, by contriving and perpetrating every foul or wicked machination of the worst of ministers, first for private bribes, and at last for a public profitable place; if you should find his first rise spring from no less a crime than the assassination of innocence, which could not be perpetrated, without giving a fatal wound to the body politic; could you suffer such an odious slave, off whom the provoked populace could once hardly keep their hands; could you permit the impious, well-pay'd parricide to be once named at an election? O! no, it is impossible! Then as to his discharge of his office, it will be found not much more meritorious. If it be true, that he is most active and strict; yet every judicious man will find, what foregne merchants exclaim at, that in straining at gnats, he swallows camels. That he lays trade under such difficulties, restraints and delays, as perhaps cause some increase of the revenues, with respect

respect to one ship. But, if a ship might make four trips, while thus she can make but three, would it not be better for the private trader and for the public? and would it not answer as well for the revenue to gain, for example, four times three-pence, as three times four-pence? then, if this be the case, what greater merit has this man, than diligence and activity, ill-applied in his place? can such a man be a fit object for your choice? no; it is impossible. Let him remane in his employment, if you will; but he never can be a proper representative for an honest and free people.

I know, my friends, how you are likely to be beset with candidates. All that have any thing to ask, or any thing to fear, will now industriously sue for, or at any rate purchase, seats in parlement. Such men never consider whether they are qualified for the seats or not. It is sufficient, that they find the seats convenient and necessary for their private purposes. One looks for preferment, a pension or a place; another flies from bailiffs into parlement. The agents of such men are already at work, and large sums are offered, upon a presumption, that the next will be at least as long-lived a parlement, as the last. Those are dangerous men to send into parlement: they can answer no one end of the institution; they can
repre-

represent onely their sordid selves. Sure you have had too many of this cast, ever to think of sending more of them out of the reach of justice ! Those, who seek a seat as the means of preferment, are as dangerous as those who hope to hold their possessed places by parliamentary corruption or servility. You can never think of such men, but with contempt and detestation. Your candidates must be utterly unworthy, if they be not found disinterested, honest and free.

But, the more effectually to disappoint your purchasers upon a good life, let me recommend it to all the electors, who have retained their freedom and integrity, to revive the test, I formerly proposed to be put to every candidate. The chief of these is a solemn promise to endeavor to bring parlements nearer the primitive institution, by making them, instead of perrennial, contrary to law and reason, triennial, or quadrennial at the most, by a new law. Till this is done, the spirit of the constitution can never be restored, nor your rights or liberties effectually secured. This should be the great foundation of the work of reformation. But it is the stone, which the modern political builders choose to reject.

And

And now, my worthy countrymen, give me leave to address myself in a more especial manner to my most honored and beloved fellow-citizens of Dublin: a sense of the many patriot virtues that animated your generous breasts, and of the obligations and honors you heaped upon me, while lawless power was pleased to permit me to breathe free air among you, is too deeply imprinted on mine heart, to be in any degree effaced by absence, by distance or by time. I must ever, with respect and gratitude, remember, that you called me from obscurity, placed me in the conspicuous and honorable light of a candidate for one of the vacant seats of the capital city in parliament; that you distinguished me with every mark of your approbation and affection, with public assurances of being elected; and you supported your candidate, while your impious rulers retained any regard to shame, to truth, to reason, justice or the laws. Before I can lose sight of those marks of the public favor, or become insensible of the matchless patriot spirit that appeared predominant in all classes of the citizens of Dublin; let my right hand forget it's function, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!

That I have not forgot you, will appear by the various struggles I have made, first to procure balm for the wounds given my country;

country and you, through my fides. Application was made to every minister here. None could be found, who could grant any terms, that an honest and free man could accept. What man, conscious of his own innocence, and actuated by the least sense of virtue, could for any ends in life, stoop to ask the transgressing tyrants pardon? forswear and sacrifice the truths he had delivered, though of the utmost importance to the king and people? and give the ministers assurance, that no such disagreeable, and to them, dangerous truths, should ever be told again? yet these were the best terms I could obtain from a British ministry! and to these, I should then, or at any time, prefer an honest exile, or any honorable death.

After these applications proved fruitless, and that I judged it dishonorable to pursue them further, I endeavored to give the alarm in London, and exposed the iniquitous and tyrannical measures that ruined Ireland and her capital, and banished me; in hopes, they would take some step to guard this kingdom and their city from the pestilence of corruption and slavery, raging in so near a neighbouring country. You will hardly believe, that upon several trials, I could find no magistrate nor recorder, that would present the dedication of a new edition

tion of my political papers to the corporation of the city, to whom I addressed it !

Of this, I afterwards complained, in an *Appeal to the Commons and Citizens*, in which I exposed the negligence of some of their chief magistrates and their recorder, with some new injuries offered to the people of Ireland, consequent to those set forth, but disregarded, in my dedication. But this produced no better effect.

Discouraged from hopes of obtaining my liberty upon honorable terms, I resolved to go abroad to gain some improvements in my profession. But, apprehensive that my character would be further maligned by mine enemies, who were ready, upon the report, to insinuate, that I fled from justice, and was now going to inlist among the declared enemies abroad, I thought it right to lay the state of my case before one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, and chose to apply to the descendent of the great lord Russel, conceiving some hopes of some redress, from so illustrious and powerful a person. The onely favor I stooped to ask was *summum jus*, though generally allowed to be *summa injuria* ; a fair, but strict trial, before competent judges and legal juries.---- But this, it seems, was judged too great a favor for me. So I left this testimony of my

my loyalty and innocence in the great officer's hands, and took my leave to go and finish my studies in foregne parts.

Since my return to this kingdom, I could, upon the strictest inquiry, find no honorable means of returning in safety to my country. Wherefore, taking the asylum which the laws give to all honest and loyal men here; I have since applied to the practice of my profession, and thank God! with some share of success and reputation. To this alone, was all my time and attention devoted, till my glad heart saw an opportunity offered, by heaven and the king, of offering some services to my poor country, and ruined city. And thus far, animated by his majesty's declaration, and hurried by a zeal to be of some public use, I had carried this address, to this length, before I could possibly have learned, that you, through so many passed years; and beset with such various scenes of oppression and perplexity, as you were, had been mindful of your old faithful servant, and again declared me a candidate for one of your vacant seats at the next ensuing general election.

From the generous regards and attentions you were pleased to pay me before, and the assurances my conscience gives me, that I could have done nothing to forfeit your favor; I must own, I expected, that you would

thus demand the services, which I confess I owe you, and thereby shew such a sense of your own freedom and rights, and such a just resentment of the violences offered you, when you were prevented electing me, or, I may say, any other member; as would confound our enemies, and inable you to heal the wounds given the whole kingdom, as well as you, through my inconsiderable fides. These, it is to be hoped, you will happily effect, by reinstating your banished fellow-citizen and candidate.

In all that I have hitherto been able to do for you, I lay no clame to any merit, nor demand any return. Had I been able to complete my best intentions for you, I should have found all the reward I should ever seek or accept, within mine own bosom. The utmost I did, or could hope to do, was but my duty, and that I could not decline, were there none other incentive, but the dictates of mine own conscience.

And as in your preserving your generous regards for a man oppressed, ruined, and banished by lawless power, for his good intentions towards his country, and in this, as well as other instances, purpose to act upon unalterable virtuous principles; I cannot help looking upon your electing me your representative in parlement, as the highest honor I can receive, and must consider the confidence

fidence you mean to repose in me, as the most valuable and important trust that can be deposited in mine or any man's hands.

Therefore, though the task of your representative be more than doubled, by my banishment, and since my exile ; duty and inclination, and ardent desire to serve a brave, virtuous people, that dare be free, conspire to engage me to undertake the weighty charge, upon the same principles, and from the same motives, which I formerly layed down, in my personal and written addresses, and in my letters to you, my most honored fellow-citizens and friends.

My being thought of as a candidate, upon this occasion, must persuade me, that the same virtuous principles and motives rule all your political conduct, as when a considerable majority in the greatest number of the most populous corporations, declared publicly, voluntarily, for me. I should be dead to every sense of that public spirit, that love of my country, which formerly obtained me the invaluable regards of the most loyal and worthy citizens, could I be deaf to your calls, or did I not even anticipate your application to me, in any instance, where I might judge it in my power to serve you. Therefore, my beloved brethren and fellow-citizens, I thus rise and set out to meet you. And, though the wicked projects of
our

our enemies have, by God's providence, been so far frustrated, with respect to me, as to render an exchange of situations, for any thing to be expected in Dublin, in the way of my profession, a very considerable sacrifice of my private interest; yet I so far hold it mine indispensable duty to answer your patriot calls, seconding those of our most gracious Sovereign, that I do not hesitate one moment, in my determination, but declare myself at once ready to imbarque on a sea of troubles, to promote the common good; and that at the peril of suffering shipwreck, or living to want the necessaries of life: for, I am as sensible as ever you found me, perhaps more, that the first duty, a rational being owes, is to his God; the second is justly challenged by his country. When king and country, with inseparable interests, in one united cause, call for the *support and assistance of every honest man*; what *honest man* can decline his utmost services? — I should hold myself utterly unworthy of being inrolled among the free subjects of such a king, or among my virtuous countrymen and fellow-citizens, did I not look upon all that I now possess, or ever hope to enjoy, even life itself, as a sacrifice to be duly, readily made, whensoever it is found necessary for the good of my country.

In this diffusive sense, you will say, all
the

the kingdom has a right to demand my service. Undoubtedly. Therefore, if any of the many venal, and almost depopulated boroughs should, at the godlike call of the king, receive a generous spark, and kindle virtue enough to inable the majority to emerge from their corruption and slavery, so far as to dare to choose an honest man; if upon these principles, their election should alight upon me; I should certainly hold myself bound to yield them due attention, and the best services in my power. But, at the same time, you must know, that of all parts of the kingdom, Dublin must have the first clame to the utmost services I may ever be able to offer. You likewise know, that the representative of any part, even the most mean, is a counsilor, a trustee and a guardian to the whole community.

You cannot, my worthy brethren, be yet supposed to have forgotten the doctrines I taught, and the principles upon which I proceeded, and moved you, when you formerly did me the honor to set me up a candidate. To say, that these once obtained your approbation, would be too faint an expression. I may, of a truth, say, you adopted them, and many of you were, in different manners and degrees, fellow-sufferers with me, for daring to differ from the established modes and customs of city and state *managers* or
under-

undertakers, in professing and aiming at freedom and truth.

It would be needless then to trouble you at this time, and in this manner, with repetitions of my sentiments upon this occasion. I hope these stand recorded in your hearts, in indelible characters. But, if any be so weak as to have forgotten them, they may be easily recollected from my political papers, which I hope, I need not recite. If these and my general character do not give every elector as good assurance of my qualification, and as good security for my conduct, as any other candidate has given, to say no better ; I shall ever hereafter be silent on this head.

When attending the duties of your representative would have been the least loss and inconvenience to me, I held it inconsistent with the principles I then did, and ever shall, profess, and which you generously countenanced and approved, to run into any degree of the detestable methods of applying and soliciting for votes and interests. I ever must, and ever have thought it unjust to lay any elector under any kind of restraint in his choice. You may well remember, I only solicited you to be wise and free in your choice ; and, instead of extorting, or even accepting promises from any of you, I relinquished and gave up many
verbal

verbal and written promises made me by several well-meaning, but mistaken electors. You then saw and approved my motives. They are still uppermost in my bosom. But, were it possible, that I should swerve from these principles, the invariable purposes of an honest heart, it is not to be imagined, that, situated as I am at present, at so great a distance from you, I should make any personal application for the favors of individuals.

It must therefore suffice, that I thus publicly declare, that I shall hold myself in readiness, at the shortest warning to engage in the service of my country, whensoever and wheresoever I shall be freely and legally called upon. I know nothing more that you have a right to demand or expect. You are to choose representatives for your city. If you do not choose among the best qualified and the most likely to serve you ; no degree of sense or honesty, of freedom or loyalty can be supposed to have fallen to your share. If electing me, be likely to prove conducive to your honor and the common good ; you must choose me. But if you cannot think thus of me, you are fools or slaves if you think of appointing me your delegate : For, I disdain to represent any but a sensible, virtuous, loyal and free people, and such shall ever command me.

K

Hence

Hence you may judge, I mean to turn the tables, as you know I did before: I firmly purpose, instead of receiving, to confer the most lasting obligations on my constituents, if such I find; by accepting, and with unalterable zeal and fidelity, discharging the duties of a painful, laborious, and perilous office, which fools or knaves, slaves or parricides alone can make, or hope to find, in any sort lucrative. Such as these, may find it worth while, as well as necessary, to beg and intreat, to impress or to purchase votes; they may be egregiously obliged, while I choose to be found among the number of the obliging. He, that thinks thus of himself, must be better intitled to be solicited to serve, than he that solicits to be elected. He may receive acknowledgments for his services from you; but can offer none for your votes: For, he who looks for nothing more than being distinguished from the multitude of electors, onely by *superior toils* and *an heavier weight of care*, cannot be supposed under the disagreeable necessity of stooping to sollicite for the *painful pre-eminence*.

Therefore, let those who mean to enrich themselves or their followers, at the expence of their country, by conniving at or joining in every infamous and destructive scheme, by avaricious or wicked ministers formed against the rights and liberties of the people,
against

against the honor and dignity of the sovereign, and who are thus interested in counteracting the glorious intentions of his Majesty, or preventing his ever knowing a true state of the nation; let these fawn, cringe, coax, cajole and corrupt; let them purchase, by any fordid means, the voices of the ignorant or unwary electors, that they may be able to sell their own, with the better grace, though to the establishing and confirming the heavy and calamitous grievances, the abject slavery and disgrace, of the whole kingdom and city, passed all prospects or hopes of redemption. Such as can hearken to men of this cast, can hardly be worth any *honest man's* care; they must rather be the objects of his most implacable detestation and contempt. If any such be found in poor Dublin, God grant, the perfidious traitors may never prove the majority! Thank heaven! this is not to be feared: The far greater number of the citizens are too sensibly touched with the violences offered them, with their duties to their king and country, to themselves and posterity, to need being urged to act like sensible, honest and free men. Were they otherwise, their election, instead of an honor, would prove an indelible disgrace to any sensible, honest man. Fools and knaves can onely be represented by their kind, properly. The honest must have honest representatives. May Dublin choose such, or one at all!

To obey the dictates of an honest heart, zealous to serve you, and to answer the calls of my king and country, I judged it incumbent on me, knowing the various temptations and stratagems with which you will be assailed, to move you to exert your sense of freedom and integrity, to a quickness and steadiness, in the discharge of your last great duties to our commonwealth. You are now called on loudly, upon all sides. You are offered the means of shaking off your shackles, of healing your wounds, bruises and putrifying sores, and of bringing the cruel authors of your complicated distresses to confusion and disgrace. You cannot yet forget the fatal wound given you, through my sides. This is the only time, in which you can hope to obtain a remedy. Now is the time to compel some regard to be payed to the redress of wrongs, to the restoring usurped or betrayed rights and liberties.

In short, my most dear countrymen and fellow-citizens, you are now offered the long with-held means of regaining and re-establishing your rights and privileges, wrested from you by lawless power; means of forming a new constitutional parlement; means of restraining your parlements within due bounds; means of reconstituting the broken constitutions of the whole kingdom and city. You are invited to accept of the means
of

of obviating such impositions and misrepresentations, as may be further attempted by any future designing ministry, as well as of bringing former offenders to some degree of the punishment due to their most atrocious crimes. You are courted and pressed to take into your own hands the means to vindicate the honor of your late deceased king, and to secure immortal renown to your present sovereign, who asks for, who *relies* upon the *support and assistance* of every *honest man*, to enable his majesty to perform and fulfil the great *business* and purpose of his royal life, which are to promote the happiness and glory of his people, universally, by *preserving and strengthening the political constitutions of his kingdoms*, without distinction. Who dare refuse to cooperate with his patriot king?

You now have moral assurance, that nothing capable of effecting these great and necessary purposes can be wanting on the part of the crown. You have the royal word, that *preserving and strengthening the constitutions, to the happiness and glory of the subjects*, are the most firm purposes of his majesty's heart, *the business of his life*. It is not to be doubted, that these were the intentions of the late king. Were they answered? You know, that in spite to the good intentions of the late kings, and quite unknown to their majesties, the sad reverse of these pur-

purposes was produced, the breaches of the constitutions, and the wretchedness and infamy, under which all sensible men now groan. Are not then the great good intentions of the present patriot king as likely to be frustrated, if you do not universally afford him the necessary *support and assistance* of *honest men*? Prove yourselves such then, my brethren, and send to treat with and counsel the king, representatives worthy of an *honest* and *free* people, or look for endless destruction and misery, for you and yours.

I gratefully confess, that I think your naming me in the number of the honest and free men, on whom the king, as well as you, may rely, is doing me the greatest honor, whether the election succeeds or not. But, judge what happiness would attend your election of me, if I might hope to be one of the happy instruments of redeeming my country and city, of *preserving and improving the* civil constitutions? There can certainly be nothing wanting to produce these most desirable great effects, than your electing men fit and qualified to be trusted. If Ireland and her capital have but the sense and virtue to choose a worthy, a legitimate representative; they can demand nothing necessary for these great purposes, that the king will not on his part, readily, gladly grant. Thus, by the proper exertion of an
ho-

honest, patriot spirit in your elections, you secure to yourselves and posterity, the king's favor and protection, and regain and secure the happiness, the glory, the liberties of your kingdom and city. But, if you neglect this, slavery, beggary, contempt and infamy, must most deservedly be the portion of your kingdom and city, to generations yet unborn. It is yours, now or never, to avert the fatal doom.

As the qualifications and characters of candidates are justly subjected to strict examination, to answer the purposes of the candid garb ; I freely subject mine to every fair test. Do me but the justice that criminals have a right to demand, though it has hitherto been denied me ; let me have a legal trial ; let me be heard, and let me have fair open pleading, for and against me, before competent judges, and indifferent jurors. Let my crimes be proved by faithful witnesses ; and let not the evidence of witnesses, or the verdicts of jurors, or the sentences of judges, which appear to be interested in my condemnation, be recorded against me ! You cannot deny this piece of common justice to your enemies, to the worst of criminals. Remember how many among you are shamefully interested in preventing my return, much more my election into parliament. Those that injure, never forgive the injured. He that stabs innocence for the
guilty

guilty bribe, will surely dread seeing the murdered corse, even at the general resurrection. We have all been thus murdered, and are all long politically dead. Our gracious king, like a true vice-gerent of heaven, sounds the invivifying trump, and calls us to a political resurrection. Arise, answer, live and be free, be happy and glorious !

I have spun out this Address, from the overflowings of a zealous heart, and insensibly protracted it, beyond the intended bounds. And yet, I have not time to abridge, or even to give it the correction, which must be necessary for so premature, so precipitate a performance. If it prove intelligible, I must be content for the present. If it serves to re-animate the long depressed, though not extinguished virtues, that filled your generous breasts, when I saw you free ; if it rouses the thoughtless or unwary, to a sense and proper discharge of their indispensable duties ; mine ends will be well answered ; and you will glorify God, bless the king, be honest, loyal and free ; and then, upon all occasions, you may rest assured of the utmost services, as well as of the invariable affection, fidelity and zeal of,

My most worthy countrymen,
Fellow-citizens and friends,

London,
Nov. 1, 1760.

Your most devoted servant,

C. LUCAS.



of